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ABSTRACT

Theories and models of adult development over the life span provide one of the foundational pieces for gaining a clearer understandings of learning in adulthood. Only recently have adult educators spoken more forcefully about the lack of integrated research on adult women. The purpose of this monograph is to describe those missing female voices as portrayed in the literature of the psychosocial development of women and to suggest links to the practice of teaching and leadership in adult education. Three kinds of studies are reviewed: analysis or conceptualization of the psychological development of women; investigations of developmental issues with all-female samples; and materials on the teaching/learning process with women as well as women and leadership. The first section discusses the literature from two frameworks: more traditional models and entirely new ways of thinking about women's development. Three major themes emerge: the importance of relationships, women's diverse and nonlinear patterns of development, and intimacy and identity. In the second section, suggestions are given for alternative theoretical perspectives, such as critical theory and feminist theory, alternative research designs and data collection techniques, and differing subject pools. The final two sections explore how the literature on women's development could be linked to the practice of teaching adults and on women and leadership within the framework of the three major themes of development, offering practical suggestions for instructors and leaders in adult education. Contains 145 references. (SK)

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Clearinghouse on Adult, Career,
& Vocational Education

Psychosocial Development of Women: Linkages to Teaching and Leadership in Adult Education

by
Rosemary S. Caffarella

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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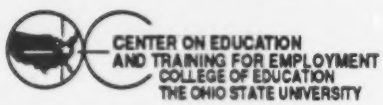

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FOREWORD

The Educational Resources Information Center Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education (ERIC/ACVE) is 1 of 16 clearinghouses in a national information system that is funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), U.S. Department of Education. This publication was developed to fulfill one of the functions of the clearinghouse–interpreting the literature in the ERIC database.

ERIC/ACVE would like to thank Rosemary S. Caffarella for her work in preparing this paper. Dr. Caffarella is Associate Professor in the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, University of Northern Colorado. At UNC and in previous positions at Virginia Commonwealth University and the University of Maine, her research and teaching specializations have included adult learning and development, continuing professional education, and self-directed learning. Her publications and presentations include ***Learning in Adulthood: A Comprehensive Guide***, "The Psychosocial Development of Women: A Critical Review of Literature," "Women in Their Thirties: The In-Between Generation," and "A Fresh Look at Adult Development: Alternative Paradigms for Research." She is a member of the editorial boards of ***Adult Learning*** and ***Adult Education Quarterly.***

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Ray D. Ryan
Executive Director
Center on Education and
Training for Employment

SYMPHONIA FEMINAE*

A symphony of women with its two themes, Women and Unity, developed through four movements.

The first movement was as an adagio, showing the slow progress of the pioneer woman in her first attempts to achieve freedom and equality.

This was followed by the second movement of quicker tempo, allegretto, as the doors of learning and the professions were forced open by their courageous and persistent efforts, showing also woman's expression of her great mother love through service to mankind.

The third movement, a scherzo, was one of impetuous vivacity. Women attained economic independence, taking the places of men in business and industry as results of the World War [World War I]. Relieved of many of her earlier duties of the home, she now gave her services to the community and the nation. Organizations were formed as an outcome of her broadening interests. This movement showed also the development of the feminist revolt as portrayed by the women writers from Jane Austen and the Brontes to Edna Ferber and Pearl Buck.

Realizing that there can be no finale to this Symphonia Feminae, that woman's work is never ended, the last movement would of necessity be fanciful. The Fantasia opens in a mystical strain, as one in a mist peers over the edge of the future into the world of tomorrow . . . In a mood of calmness and repose, we hear the earlier melodies blended together in perfect harmony . . . Women have gathered in their sheaves and now they bind them, showing a new and more glorious womanhood: the completed type of mother-woman, working with all as well as for all.

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*Written by Mrs. C. Gilbert Miller, President 1939 of the Every Monday Club, "A Toast to the 'President of the Every Monday Club in 1989'." Presented on October 16, 1989 by Mrs. C. Gilbert Miller, President 1989 of the Every Monday Club. The Every Monday Club, founded in 1889, is the oldest literary club for women with continuous records in the South. The club, whose home is in Richmond, Virginia, developed from the desires of a "few earnest women" who realized "the profit that had come to them from an interchange of ideas in a Chatauqua Circle . . ." The club chose as its motto 'Unity'." (*Every Monday Club Yearbook* 1989, p. 1). Every club member is expected to present a research paper during each club year around themes club members have chosen for that year. Mrs. Miller (Glennie) has been an active member of that club for 63 years. In addition, she often appeared as a resource person in Rosemary Caffarella's class in Adult Development at Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Virginia.

DEDICATION

This monograph is dedicated in loving memory to my mother, Rose Promery Shelly, who taught me so much about how women care for each other, their families, their work colleagues, their communities, and their world.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The theories and models of how adults grow and develop over the life span provide one of the foundational pieces for gaining a clearer understanding of learning in adulthood. Although it appears very appropriate to incorporate this material into the knowledge base about adult learning, it often has become a shortsighted venture when the premises were primarily grounded in the more traditional developmental material of such authors as Erikson, Levinson, and Kohlberg without giving credence to differing voices of development–in this case the voices of women. Only recently have adult educators spoken more forcefully about this lack of integration of research on adult women as an important missing ingredient in the practice of adult education.

The purpose of this monograph is to provide a description of those missing female voices as portrayed in the literature of the psychosocial development of women and to suggest how this literature is linked to the practice of teaching and leadership in adult education. Three kinds of studies that address these issues are reviewed: literature in which authors seriously analyzed or conceptualized the psychological development of women, empirical investigations of developmental issues with all female samples, and materials on the practice of the teaching/learning process with women as well as women and leadership.

The first section of the monograph discusses the literature on the psychosocial development of women from two frameworks: authors who advocate more traditional models of development for investigating the development of women and those who propose entirely new ways of thinking about women's development. Three major themes emerge from this critical review and synthesis of the literature: the importance of relationships as central to the overall developmental process, diverse and nonlinear patterns of development as the norm for women, and intimacy and identity as issues of continuing importance to women throughout their lives.

The second major section provides a summary and short critique of the literature reviewed on the psychosocial development of women. In this critique, cautions are given not to generalize the findings from the review to all women due to the limited nature of the types of subjects included in the studies and the research designs used. To expand this research base, suggestions are given for alternative theoretical perspectives, such as critical theory and feminist theory, alternative research designs and data collection techniques, and differing subject pools.

The final two sections of the monograph explore how the earlier discussed literature on women's development has been or could be linked to the literature on the practice of teaching adults and on women and leadership. These practice concerns in each area of teaching and leadership are discussed within the framework of the three major themes of development identified earlier in the review–the centrality of relationships, the diverse and nonlinear patterns of development, and the continuing importance of identity and intimacy.

The emphasis within these two sections is on offering practical suggestions for those who function as instructors and leaders in adult education.

Information on the psychosocial development of women may be found in the ERIC system using the identifier *Psychosocial Development and the following descriptors: *Adult Development, Adult Education, Developmental Stages, *Females, *Interpersonal Relationship, Intimacy, Leadership Qualities, Life Events, Models, *Personality Development, *Self Concept, Socialization, and Teaching Methods. Asterisks indicate particularly relevant terms.

INTRODUCTION AND PARAMETERS OF THIS REVIEW[1]

Much of the work in adult learning is based on or at least pays tribute to the theories and models of how adults grow and develop over the life span (Boucouvalas with Krupp 1989; Merriam 1984; Merriam and Caffarella 1991). Developmental theorists such as Erikson (1982), Havighurst (1972), Maslow (1970), and Levinson (1986) are often cited by educators of adults (for example, Fessler and Christensen 1992; Knowles 1980, 1984; Krupp 1981; Levine 1989) as providing the cornerstone of what is known about adults as learners from a developmental perspective. Although this practice of using literature on adult development is helpful, appropriate, and basic to the understanding of learning in adulthood, the material chosen as representative of that literature often is incomplete in describing what adulthood is all about. This lack of a wider vision of what adult development encompasses is especially apparent when adult educators highlight, and in some cases use almost exclusively, the more traditional theories of development such as those proposed by Maslow (1970), Erikson (1982), Levinson (1986), and Kohlberg (1973). The assumption in theories of this nature is that adult development is a universal phenomenon with particular phases or stages that must be successfully negotiated in order to be ascribed the status of a fully functioning or mature adult. In addition, much of what is known about adult development from this perspective has been generated from research with all male subjects (for example, Levinson et al. 1978) or was written from the perspective of male authors. What has been wrong with this picture of adulthood is the observation by a number of scholars that critical voices have been missing in the building of the bulk of this traditional theory base–the voices of women, of people with varying ethnic backgrounds, and of persons belonging to differing socioeconomic classes (Gilligan 1979; Gordon, Miller, and Rollock 1990; Miller 1986; Ross-Gordon 1991).

This task of expanding the view and offering differing images of how adults grow and develop is enormous, and yet it is critical that educators of adults be a part of these research and theory-building efforts. Unless the perspectives of adult educators are broadened to include a diverse range of ideas about adult development, they may continue to foster images of growth and change that fit only some of the people with whom they work, whether those people be learners, colleagues, and/or the general public. The purpose of this critical review of the literature is to begin the process of listening to these differing voices of development–in this case the voices of women. More specifically, provided in this review are the following:

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[1] Portions of this monograph will be published in R. S. Caffarella and S. K. Olson, "Psychosocial Development of Women: A Critical Review of the Literature," *Adult Education Quarterly* (Spring 1993) and have been reprinted here with permission.

- Descriptions of those missing female voices as portrayed in the study of the psychosocial development of women
- An assessment of the extent to which alternative models of development for women have emerged
- An exploration of how this literature on women's development is linked to the literature on the practice of the teaching process with women and to the study of women and leadership
- Practical suggestions for those who function as instructors and leaders in adult education

Three kinds of studies that address these issues are reviewed: literature in which authors seriously analyze or conceptualize the psychosocial development of women, empirical investigations of developmental issues with all-female samples, and materials on the practice of the teaching/learning process and women and leadership. Excluded from this review are theories of psychosocial development that posit male experience as normative (such as Erikson 1963, 1982; Levinson 1986) databased studies with all male (Levinson et al. 1978) or male and female subjects (Gould 1978; Lyons 1983; Merriam and Clark 1991a), and basic descriptive materials of actual adult learning programs. Empirical studies with fewer than 15 subjects are also not included, with the exception of a study by Stewart (1977) and a recent exemplary work by Bateson (1989). This review, although not necessarily exhaustive, does contain salient examples of the major work on the psychosocial development of women over the last 20 years and allows the *distinctive female voice* to be heard and heeded by those involved in teaching and leadership roles in adult education.

THE NATURE OF THE PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN

The discussion of the literature on the psychosocial development of women is divided into two parts. The first part contains a review of those authors who advocate more traditional models of development for investigating the psychological development of women, and the second part focuses on those who propose entirely new ways of thinking about female development. Each of these major sections is subdivided into two major categories: conceptual papers and empirical studies. The conceptual papers consist of thoughtful essays, discussions of proposed models and concepts related to women's development, and reviews of literature. The empirical studies are databased and represent a variety of research designs and methodologies. General themes and methodological issues that emerged from this work are addressed in each of these sections.

Adoption of Traditional Models

Consensus has not been reached concerning appropriate models to use when investigating the psychosocial development of women. In particular, there is disagreement about whether it is appropriate to adopt the more traditional models that were primarily based on studies with males and/or conceptualized by male researchers (for example, Erikson 1962; Kohlberg 1973; Levinson et al. 1978) or to propose alternative models when investigating the psychosocial development of women. In adopting these more traditional models, two features are usually assumed to be the norm for development: (1) development progresses through sequential stages or phases and (2) autonomy or separateness is the goal or pinnacle of development. Explored first in this section are the conceptual papers, followed by a review of the empirical studies.

Conceptual Papers

Sales (1978), who provides one of the earlier examples of conceptual writing, assumes "that women's development does, in many ways, follow the same sequence of highs and lows, equilibrium and disequilibrium, found in men" (p. 198), with some variation in conceptions of basic life tasks and timetables. Implementing this assumption, she describes a specific stage theory for women and identifies developmental tasks within each stage. A key theme characterizing women's development, according to Sales, is the need to adapt to changing role constellations, particularly as children are born, develop, leave home, and have children themselves. Sales assumes that for women, as well as men, the primary goal of development is achieving autonomy or a separate sense of self.

Also embracing the more traditional model of development, Simpson (1977) and Labe (1982) propose that the process of individuation and separateness is a key issue in achieving adult status. Simpson, however, contends that women spend more time in certain developmental stages

than do men and speculates that some women stay in the affiliative or generative stage as a form of escape. In comparison, Labe suggests that women tend to complete an individuation process between 30 and 40 years of age, later than do men. She notes that springboards to adult status and achievement for women are through occupational and parenting roles and claiming distance from parents.

More recently, Merriam and Clark (1991b) contend that the broad themes of love and work, as originally described by Freud and Erikson, among others, are the two central social and psychological forces that shape both men's and women's lives. More specifically, for women, although they acknowledge that "interrelatedness, connectedness, and caring are the lens through which women interpret the world; at the same time, 'work' or 'working' is important for identity and self-definition" (p. 15). In offering this assumption about women's lives, they stress that concentration in one area over the other leads to "lopsided development," whereas a "mature state" of development calls for an integration of the love and work domains.

Still other scholars (Notman 1978; Rossi 1980; Targ 1979) suggest that existing traditional theories are useful, but incomplete; that is, that other variables need to be considered when investigating female development. For example, Targ (1979) suggests that the unanticipated events of women's lives, especially those of divorce and widowhood, be given particular attention when building theories concerning female psychosocial development, whereas Rossi (1980) contends a life-span orientation should be expanded to include both biological and social-cultural perspectives in order to consider the natural interplay of a variety of factors in the development of women.

Empirical Studies

Of the empirical investigations of the psychosocial development of adult women included in this review, as shown in Table 1, 12 have been cross-validation studies of more traditional developmental models. The majority of these cross-validation studies have used all-female samples to investigate the generalizability of the theory of Levinson and his associates (1978, 1986). The major construct investigated by Levinson et al. is the life structure, "the underlying pattern or design of a person's life at any given time" (Levinson et al. 1978, p. 41). In-depth interviews of 40 men between the ages of 35 and 45 suggested that the life structure evolves through an orderly sequence of stable and transitional periods that correlate with chronological age. Central components of the life structure include occupation, marriage-family, friendships, ethnicity, and religion. For these men, elements of the life structure tend to be established and maintained during stable periods and then questioned and changed during transitional periods. Reexamination and pain are especially prevalent during the midlife transition, from ages 40 to 45.

Researchers cross-validating the Levinson theory have generally used the methodology of the original team, in-depth interviews. Participants in these studies have primarily been young or middle-aged, middle-class, Caucasian college students or graduates. The major exceptions to this are the Jeffries (1985) study of 40 Black women and the inclusion of a study of 8 Black women in a composite review of 4 Levinson validation studies offered by Roberts and Newton (1987). It appears that only one study (Zubrod 1980) used a stratified sample that included several economic levels. In addition, because most studies included only a single age cohort, the results of these studies may

TABLE 1
EMPIRICAL STUDIES: TESTING OF TRADITIONAL MODELS

Author(s)	Cross-Validation of	Subjects	Data Collection Techniques	Selected Salient Results
Alexander (1980)	Levinson	N = 37; Age 19-36 SES = predominantly middle class EI = Caucasian Enrolled in college	Author-designed, semistructured interview Author-designed life satisfaction/dissatisfaction graph	Women studied did experience stages that Levinson found for men, but the issues within those stages were different. The age 30 transition included an acceptance of responsibility for self.
Barner (1981)	Levinson	N = 134; Age 27-53 SES = not specified EI = not specified Enrolled in community college	Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) Author-designed descriptive questionnaire	Those women in the stable periods (as defined in Levinson's model) had higher self-scores than those in transition periods. Respondents in the youngest age group (ages 27-32) reported the greatest amount of questioning and self-doubt.
Desjardins (1978)	Gould	N = 378; Age 21-59 SES = middle class EI = Caucasian Enrolled in community college	Modification of Gould's developmental inventory Author-designed personal data sheet	Responses reflected some related themes, but no definite age parameters of these themes could be defined. Not all life crises lead to changes.
Goodman (1980)	Levinson	N = 30; Age 45-60 SES = predominantly middle class EI = Caucasian	Modification of Alexander (1980) interview guide	Levinson's notion of life structures was confirmed by his study, though only a few of the women experienced the midlife transitions described by the men in Levinson's study. The focus of the lives of the majority of these women was on marriage and childbearing.
Helson and Wink (1992)	A number of theoretical and empirical studies	1981 Sample N = 118; Age 40-45 SES = not specified EI = not specified Alumnae from Mills College 1989 Sample N = 118; Age 50-55 SES = not specified EI = not specified Alumnae from Mills College	Demographic data sheet, California Psychological Inventory (CPI), Adjective Check List (ACL), Coping scales, set of questionnaires with ratings and open-ended questions about various areas of life (for example, menopausal status, empty nest, feeling about life)	Personality continued to change in adulthood. Women reported numerous "difficult times" in their 40s, but these gave way to stability and calm in their 50s. These women had increases in emotional stability, confidence, and decisiveness and reductions in dependency and vulnerability.

NOTE: SES = socioeconomic status
EI = ethnic identity

TABLE 1—Continued

Author(s)	Cross-Validation of	Subjects	Data Collection Techniques	Selected Salient Results
Jeffries (1985)	Levinson	N = 40; Age 20-40 SES = Appears middle and lower class EI = Black	Biographical interviewing using author-designed structured interview (Jeffries-Winbush Black Lifespan Assessment Questionnaire)	No correlation was found between age and the prescribed developmental tasks. Unique stages and characteristics exist that are culture specific in nature and typically relate to Black female development.
Josselson (1987)	Erikson	Sample I N = 48; Age not given SES = All social strata represented EI = not specified College seniors Sample II N = 12; Same description as above	First Data Collection Collection (Samples I & II) Marcia's Identity-Status Interview Open-ended semistructured interview protocol	Confirmed the importance of the structural component of identity development. Developmental issue of separation and individualism is different in women and men. Separation involves becoming different and yet maintaining connections/relationships at the same time.
		Sample III N = 34 (of the original 60 subjects) Age not specified SES = not specified, implied across all strata EI = not specified	Follow-up Study Written questionnaires with choice for individuals to tape their responses Telephone interviews where necessary	The web of relationships crucial to women, both within family and friendship networks as well as work-related endeavors. Career does not provide a primary sense of identity for most women. Identity construction comes primarily through connections, relational embeddedness, spirituality, and affiliation.
Kahnweiler (1980)	Levinson	N = 40; Age 30-50 SES = middle class EI = Caucasian Enrolled in college	Author-designed questionnaire	Respondents were focused on their own personal goals for the future. They felt a real time limitation as they were just getting to the point of forming a "dream" for their lives.
Murrell and Donahue (1982)	Levinson	N = 44; Age 34-65 SES = upper middle class EI = not specified Senior-level college administrators	Modification of Levinson (1977) interview guide	These women reported age-related transitional periods in their lives (in the 30s, if career oriented shift to family orientation and vice versa; in 40s an identity crisis.)

TABLE 1—Continued

Author(s)	Cross-Validation of	Subjects	Data Collection Techniques	Selected Salient Results
Roberts and Newton (1987)	Levinson	*N = 39; Age 28-53 SES = Unknown EI = Predominantly Caucasian, w/8 Black subjects *Combination of 4 earlier studies	Biographical interview based on modifications of the Levinson instrument	Suggest underlying pattern of women's development with age-linked stable and transitional periods. The age 30 transition was especially consistent for these respondents. As women's dreams of their adult life were more complex than most men's (involving marriage, motherhood and career), their life structures seem less stable and more conflicted. The relational aspect was seen as key in shaping the lives of these women.
Ryff and Migdal (1984)	Erikson	N = 100; Age 18-30 (N = 50) Age 40-55 (N = 50) SES = Predominantly middle class EI = not specified Enrolled in college, undergraduate and graduate students	Personality Research Form (PRF) Jackson Personality Inventory (JPI)	Intimacy was more important to young adult women than to those in middle age. Generativity was important for both middle age (as expected) and younger women.
Stewart (1977)	Levinson	N = 11; Age 31-39 SES = predominantly middle class EI = Caucasian	Author-designed, semistructured interview based on Levinson's "Guidelines for Interviews"	These women demonstrate greater variability than men in the accomplishment of certain developmental tasks, and this variability appears to be related to whether the woman marries or remains single and/or pursues a career. The life "dreams" formed tended to have a strong relational component.
Zubrod (1980)	Levinson	N = 30; Age 32-44 SES = all social strata represented EI = Caucasian Included people from one urban and one rural community	Modification of Alexander (1980) interview guide Lifeline Chart	The broad outlines of the developmental periods of early adulthood (17-40) were generally the same for women as for the men in Levinson's study. The nature and time of the developmental tasks were different than was noted for the men in the Levinson study. The central issue of the age 30 transition was the separation individualization process; the major pull at age 35 was to do something significant.

simply characterize the time period of investigation, instead of identifying age-related behaviors (Schaie and Willis 1986).

For the female samples investigated, the Levinson et al. theory was confirmed in certain respects. Alternating periods of stability and transition were reported by participants in the efforts of Alexander (1980), Goodman (1980), Roberts and Newton (1987), and Stewart (1977). Alexander (1980) found that her respondents did experience the three broad stages that Levinson found for men: the Early Adult Transition, Getting into the Adult World, and the Age 30 Transition. Also, in apparent support of the Levinson et al. theory, age-related transitional periods were reported by Murrell and Donahue (1982) and Zubrod (1980). Participants in the Zubrod study typically became more practical in their thinking and their actions during their age 30 transition and explored such issues as occupational choices, childbearing (for those with no children), and the need for real intimacy in their lives. Zubrod (1980) concluded that her participants "came out of the age thirty transition with a more informed sense of self . . . and viewed their future as a time to become what they had not as yet become" (pp. 242-243). Alexander (1980) also found that the age 30 transition was pivotal, that choices made from age 29 to 31 provided participants a greater sense of control over their lives. In the words of one of her respondents: "It's like when you hit 30 and you're not young any more. You've got to face up" (p. 114).

Other researchers have found that the Levinson et al. model applies within a different time-frame. Kahnweiler (1980), for example, found that issues typically explored by men during their 20s (such as forming a dream and choosing an occupation) in the Levinson et al. sample were salient to women in their 30s and 40s who were resuming their undergraduate education. Similarly, Zubrod (1980) found respondents in their 30s and early 40s became more autonomous and introspective and, in particular, expressed a need to do "something significant."

Although the Levinson et al. theory was confirmed in certain respects (such as alternating periods of stability and transition) in cross-validation efforts, researchers typically found a number of differences between the reported experiences of their participants and those of the original, all-male sample. Chief among these were greater complexity in participants' love and career patterns. For example, Murrell and Donahue (1982) found that their middle-aged respondents (ages 34 to 65) had selected in their 20s a preferred life-style of career orientation, family orientation, or a combination, and that few had made plans for career advancement. On the other hand, Alexander's (1980) 19- to 36-year-old respondents appeared to be seeking a balance between the importance of work and the role of intimacy, whereas Stewart's (1977) participants, aged 31 to 39, displayed wide variability in their respective commitments to their marriage and careers as sources of identity. Thus, different patterns appear to characterize varied age cohorts.

In contrast, Barner (1981) and Jeffries (1985) concluded that the Levinson et al. theory cannot be extended to an all-female sample in the case of Barner and to an all-Black female sample in the Jeffries' study. During the midlife transition, Barner's respondents did not report an extreme level of questioning and dissatisfaction. Instead, he found the youngest individuals, aged 27 to 32, reported experiencing the greatest amount of self-doubt. Thus, he suggests that cohort differences must be considered when investigating the psychosocial development of

women, that is, that differences which appear to be attributable to varied chronological ages may be a function of the historical time period during which a woman was socialized.

Finally, Jeffries (1985) sought to identify the unique characteristics and tasks associated with Black female development. Her study of 40 females aged 20 to 40 was a semireplication of Levinson's study, but also included framing from the work of Rubin (1979). In this exploratory research, she found that age was not significantly related to psychosocial development among Black females. However, the study did show that "unique stages and characteristics exist that are culture-specific in nature and typically relate to Black female development" (p. 125). Central to the differences was a phase where the Black female deals with a racial identity crisis and perhaps faces some contradictions in the American dream. The Black female appears to have to spend a period establishing a reality base, which may not be necessary for many Caucasian females. There are contradictions in the Black female socialization process that necessitate this phase. For example, young Black women are told to get married, that marriage and children are an important life stage, yet they are also told not to depend on a man; they are told to love, but "don't ever trust a man to take care of you" (Jeffries 1985, p. 128). In addition, she found that environmental circumstances have as much, if not more, influence on development than chronological age.

A study by Desjardins (1978) provided a cross-validation of the theory of Gould (1972, 1978). The reported experiences of a clinical sample, Gould's male and female patients, were the springboard for Gould's theory. According to Gould, specific themes can be identified for specified age periods. For example, the 22- to 28-year-olds felt quite established with their present lives, but were exercising less autonomy than they perceived, whereas the 29- to 34-year-olds tended to question seriously their prior choices and life-styles. These age-related periods and their themes were substantiated in a second study using nonpatient male and female subjects (Gould 1978).

As the summary in Table 1 suggests, Gould's theory was not substantiated by the Desjardins study. For example, in contrast to Gould's findings, the responses of women in their 20s reflected a sense of uncertainty about themselves (versus feeling quite established) as individuals and a general lack of self-confidence, whereas respondents in their 30s felt more positive about themselves (versus questioning seriously their prior choices and life-styles). In general, Desjardins' participants reported that relationships were a central aspect of their lives and that their happiest moments were associated with love, marriage, and their first child. Divorce caused the most change in their perspectives, followed closely by the death of someone close to them.

The final two cross-validation studies included in this review (Josselson 1987; Ryff and Migdal 1984) used all female samples to investigate specific stages of Erikson's theory (1963, 1982). Erikson (1963, 1982), as part of his seven-stage theory of development over the life span, describes three major invariant stages of adulthood, each stage of which is characterized by distinct conflicts adults must resolve prior to moving to the next stage. In young adulthood, the successful resolution between intimacy versus isolation results in love. In middle adulthood resolving the tensions between generativity and self-absorption allows people to care for others; in older adulthood resolutions between integrity versus despair provide the capacity for wisdom. Although Erikson characterized his fourth

stage, that of identity versus identity confusion, as being tied primarily to the period of adolescence, researchers in adult development have also included the examination of this stage as part of their research on adults.

The premise that Ryff and Migdal (1984) chose was to assume that Erikson's theory as stated was also valid for women. More specifically, they sought to understand better the perceptions women had of the stages of intimacy and generativity through testing of both young and middle-aged women. For both of these groups they found the stages proposed by Erikson (intimacy for the younger cohort and generativity for the middle-aged group) were of critical importance to their lives at the appropriate time period of their life. In addition, the middle-aged cohort group in reflecting back "recalled that intimacy had been more salient to them in young adulthood" (p. 498). What was surprising was that the younger age cohort also saw generativity as being more important to them now than in their future adult lives. The authors concluded that even though the data did not fully support the notion of generativity as a midlife stage for women, they did view their findings as supporting certain aspects of Erikson's theory as valid for both men and women, mainly that intimacy is viewed as a key aspect of young adult lives.

Josselson (1987), through a longitudinal study of college women, sought to understand better Erikson's concept of identity formulation for women. Using a framework for "identity-status" proposed by Marcia and others (1966 as cited in Josselson 1987), Josselson divided her subjects into four distinct groups: identity foreclosures (commitment made without a searching or crisis stage); identity achievements (commitment made with testing options); identity moratoria (still actively exploring their identity); and identity diffusions (drifting and avoiding identity commitment). It was assumed that each group was on a different path to negotiating their identity formulation and it was these differences the author sought to understand both with an initial snapshot of the group as well as with follow-up data. Indeed, she did confirm the importance of this structural view of identity formation in that each of the four groups did view their central selves as different, although there was some movement between and among the groups over the life of the study. Yet, regardless of the identity category, certain themes seemed to be key to women's development. Among the most salient was that a woman's web of relationships (primary family, husband, partners, children, and friends) is central to her identity formation. Having a career is a secondary concern for most women, and even in this sphere of their lives it is important for them to integrate components of care and relatedness. In essence, although becoming their own separate person may be a part of identity formulation for women, being able to maintain a sense of connectedness and affiliation with others was crucial for development to occur.

In contrast to the cross-validation studies related primarily to a specific theorist, one recent study (Helson and Wink 1992), drawing on the data from a longitudinal study of alumnae from Mills College, focused on underlying general personality and life changes for women from their early 40s and early 50s. (See Table 1 for specifics.) Helson and Wink found that these women, although they reported numerous "difficult times" in their 40s, increased their overall emotional stability, gained in confidence and decisiveness, and reduced their sense of dependence and vulnerability. They concluded that these changes came about not because of specific life events, but rather "as a result of long-term trends or with the evolving

gestalt of demands, competencies, expectations, and social interactions of that period" (p. 53). These researchers also concluded that for women overall personality does continue to change in adulthood.

In summary, these empirical studies confirmed some of the major key concepts as important to the understanding of women's development: (1) the notion of alternating transitional and stable life periods; (2) the importance of having a firm sense of self or identity; and (3) the need for intimacy. What was markedly different from each of the original theories tested was the general lack of agreement as to what each life period contained and the notion of development being a clear linear process based on individual decision making. Rather, the web of relationships and connectedness to others surfaced as central to the developmental growth of women, making the way less clearly defined and the paths chosen more dependent on the needs of others as well as the women's own hopes and dreams.

Again, although there are a multiplicity of variables (such as age, ethnicity, socioeconomic class of the subjects) that could affect the findings of these studies, for the most part these variables were *not* controlled for in these studies. In the limited number of studies where these types of variables were taken into account, usually only one or two of the variables were addressed (for example, choosing to interview only Black women in the Jeffries [1985] study; surveying and interviewing women from all socioeconomic levels in the Josselson [1987] study). Therefore, it is important to emphasize that the summary of the findings of all these studies cannot be generalizable due to the lack of controls in terms of population studied and the limited nature of the research designs and type of methodologies employed.

Alternative Models of Female Development

Other scholars contend that different models must be built to identify the unique patterns of psychosocial development for women. The major assumption upon which this work is grounded is that the female perspective has not been integrated into what has been termed more traditional theories of adult development. As with the studies discussed in the previous section, the conceptual papers are reviewed first and then the empirical studies.

Conceptual Papers

Chodorow (1971, 1974, 1978, 1987), a leading scholar on women's development, observes that during early socialization "feminine personality comes to define itself in relation and connection to other people more than masculine personality does" (Chodorow 1974, p. 44). She suggests the concept of "being" is central to women because they are the primary socializers and nurturers of children; in comparison, "doing" is primary within men's lives because of the centrality of their work roles. Thus, for Chodorow, development of the "self" for women involves integrating a capacity to respond to the needs of others with an ability to meet one's needs.

The perspective that women's development is grounded to a greater extent than men's in attachment and affiliation, rather than being formed solely by separateness and autonomy, is echoed by others (Bardwick 1971, 1980; Brown and Gilligan 1992; Gilligan 1979, 1986; Miller 1986; Rosaldo 1974). Miller (1986) claims that the organizing principle for women's lives is doing for others, and, therefore, women tend to place the needs of others first. Bardwick (1980) echoes this same senti-

ment when she describes women as more relational in orientation. Thus, it is more difficult for women to control their own lives because they respond to the initiatives and directives of others. In particular, Bardwick (1978, 1980) suggests that developmental theory be reframed to address important gender differences in work styles and degree of responsibility for childbearing and parenting.

The debate is not merely a semantic one. Gilligan (1979, 1986), who has been the strongest voice advocating female-based models, stated that something crucial is missing from developmental theory: the perspective of women. She notes, "Only when life-cycle theorists equally divide their attention and begin to live with women, as they lived with men, will their vision encompass the experiences of both sexes and their theories become correspondingly more fertile" (Gilligan 1979, p. 445). Therefore, she claims current theory accounts for male, but not necessarily human, development because it assumes that to be an adult one must be, first and foremost, a separate, self-defined individual. According to Gilligan, an equally strong motive in human development is the need and capacity for intimacy and sharing. Developmental theory has identified the stages of growth toward autonomy, but has ignored the evolution and fostering of the human ability to care, share, and create community. In essence, Gilligan (1979, 1982) suggests that researchers (1) not assume that existing models of adult development, which have been derived from a male model, are broad enough to depict all human development; and (2) design studies to ensure that the voices of women will be heard.

In response to Gilligan's challenge, Peck (1986) proposed the most comprehensive model of women's development to date that takes into account the unique ways in which women define themselves throughout their adult lives. Building on the work of Miller (1986), Gilligan (1977, 1982), and Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers (1983), among others, she "combines a dialectic approach, which considers the effects of social/historical factors, with a feminist approach, which emphasizes the importance of caring and relationships, to illustrate the critical factors affecting a woman's self-knowledge during the adult years" (p. 274). The process of development is viewed as a spiraling funnel, influenced by both the context (the social historical time) in which a woman functions and the sphere of influence or relationships (family, friends, work) in which she is involved. The key to expanding this funnel, and therefore the definition of self, is a woman's ability both to influence and change her web of relationships. Central to Peck's model is the issue of attachment described earlier as a major organizing principle for many women's lives.

More recently, Brown and Gilligan (1992) reiterate the need to listen to the voices of adult women and also of adolescent girls in the building of models of development for women. Although the population for their study was preadolescent and adolescent girls, the authors make inferences from their findings for the development of adult women. Brown and Gilligan view the period of adolescence as a crossroads, where girls give up their authentic voices and become disconnected from other girls, women, and themselves. They note the paradoxical nature of this loss. Although adult women speak of the importance of connectedness and relationships in their lives, for the sake of becoming "a good woman" and having "acceptable" adult relationships, girls must abandon speaking their mind and deny their own experiences and perceptions as important. This central paradox–"the giving up of relationships for the sake of 'Relationships'–is a paradox of which girls themselves are aware" (Brown and Gilli-

gan 1992, p. 7). Yet, the current cultural imperatives make these patterns of dissociation be seen as necessary and inevitable. The basic message of Brown and Gilligan's research is that there is a need to break this pattern of disconnectedness and dissociation experienced by adolescent girls through intergenerational dialogue. Opportunities need to be created "for women to join girls and by doing so reclaim lost voices and lost strengths, to strengthen girls' voices and girls' courage as they enter adolescence by offering girls resonant relationships, and in this way to move with girls towards creating a psychologically healthier world" (ibid., p. 6). This dialogue could also open avenues for legitimate public dialogue and women's involvement in the process of political change and therefore it "holds potential for societal and cultural change" (p. 232).

The sentiments of Brown and Gilligan, in terms of moving toward political and cultural change as one way to influence women's development, are not new, but have for the most part been ignored by mainstream scholars who study women's adult development. The idea that gender is a socially constructed reality versus a more internally driven intrapsychic process has been a part of feminist theory since its inception (Allen and Baber 1992; Hart et al. 1991; Iannello 1992). From this perspective three important observations can be made related to studying adult development in women. However, it should be noted that these observations have not been discussed specifically by these researchers in relationship to developmental theory. The first, which is similar to other scholars of women's development, is the importance of women's voices being heard as part of theory-building efforts. This process involves having women claim "their authentic self . . . engaging their will, constructing a context, developing a language of empowerment, and integrating a transformed psychocultural identity" (Hart et al. 1991, p. 310). What is different about this notion that women's voices should form the basis for theory development from the feminist perspective is the major caveat that women's voices are not just gender related, but also rooted in class, race, age, sexual orientation, and family status (Hart et al. 1991; Hawkesworth 1989; Lugones and Spelman 1983). Therefore, in studying women, recognizing the diversity of women's experience is critical, especially within the context of other cultures and political systems.

The second important observation is that scholars should not just listen to these differing voices, but assist women in examining what they are saying in terms of the dominant culture in which they live (Allen and Baber 1992; Cook and Fonow 1990; Hart et al. 1991). The assumption underlying this second observation is that most societies exploit, devalue, and oppress women. Therefore, what women believe about themselves as women is grounded in this societal context of exploration and domination. Thus, a change in perspectives about how women grow and develop can happen only if women examine critically how they see themselves within their societies' socially constructed values and beliefs about what they should be like, versus what they could be or want to be as women.

The third observation, which flows from the first two, is that the acceptance of both the constructivist view of knowledge, that women create their own worlds, and a "deconstructive" perspective, "challenging and exposing existing beliefs and concepts that are accepted as natural or absolute" (Allen and Baber 1992, p. 4), are both critical to model and theory building about women's development. This calls for research designs and methodologies that reflect both traditional feminist ideals, such as placing women at the

center of inquiry, as well as embracing more of the critical theory perspective (Iannello 1992; Nielsen 1990; Welton 1990).

Finally, in addition to the recommendations discussed in this section related to methodological issues, a number of other authors have also called for the use of alternative research designs to study women's development (Baruch et al. 1983; Hancock 1981; Hart et al. 1991; Lerman 1987; Miller 1986; Unger 1983). Unger (1983), for example, challenges researchers to move beyond the positivists' empiricist model that has been most often used in the study of developmental issues and explore alternative methodologies for building theories of women's development. In her discussion she stresses adopting paradigms that allow for more of a reflective or dialectic view and focus on the perspective of individual subjects. Lerman (1987) echoes the sentiments of Unger and goes further by advocating building a theory base about women "close to and within the world of women" (p. 46) of diverse backgrounds and experiences.

Empirical Studies

In building alternative models of female development, as shown in Table 2, researchers have responded to the call to use alternative paradigms and designs. These scholars have primarily used an inductive approach to theorizing–they have collected data and have begun to build theories with reference to their findings. Women were asked, as part of these studies, to describe issues of importance to them in their own language. All of the studies reviewed used author-designed interview guides or questionnaires; only two also incorporated standardized instruments. Only three included women from diverse economic and educational backgrounds, and only one study (Gilligan 1977) specified that the subjects represented a diverse ethnic background. Controls for family life-cycle stage and level of occupational identity were provided for in two of these efforts (Baruch et al. 1983; Rubin 1979). Except for Gilligan's (1977) investigation of younger women and Reinke, Holmes, and Harris' (1985) retrospective study, the inductive efforts have mostly centered on women at middle years of age, 35-61. A few of Hancock's (1981, 1985, 1989) subjects were above and below those ages, whereas 37 percent of McLean's (1980) respondents were under 35. Thus women invited to speak in "their own voices" have primarily been a single cohort–middle-class, middle-aged Caucasian. As in cross-validation efforts, therefore, the generalizability of most of these studies is limited.

Rubin (1979) was one of the earlier scholars who investigated the psychosocial development of women using an inductive approach. She studied a single cohort of women who had initially selected marriage and motherhood as their primary life tasks. Using an interview procedure, Rubin found that even women who had paid jobs outside the home primarily described themselves in terms of being. "To be–be good, be pretty, be patient, be kind, be loving. To be–the quintessence of women" (p. 59) appeared to be their goal. The majority of respondents were struggling with what Rubin termed their "elusive selves," trying to answer the questions of what to do for the next 30-40 years of their lives. Rubin also notes that the achievement efforts of this midlife cohort of women can represent a high risk because they are threatening to significant others.

Gilligan (1977, 1982), the most often quoted scholar of women's development, investigated moral development as it related specifically to women. In her investigation of an all-female sample,

TABLE 2
EMPIRICAL STUDIES: ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF FEMALE DEVELOPMENT

Author(s)	Subjects	Data Collection Techniques	Selected Salient Results
Baruch, Barnett, and Rivers (1983)	Phase I: N=60; Age 35-55 SES=lower class to middle class EI=Caucasian Phase II: N=238; Age 35-55 SES=lower class to upper middle class	Phase I - Author-designed, unstructured interviews Phase II - Author-designed interview, and standardized measures incorporated into the survey	A two-dimensional picture of well-being was formulated, that of mastery (the doing side of life) and pleasure (the feeling side). In general it was hypothesized that women's well-being is linked more to social climate than internal changes.
Bateson (1989)	N=5 Age=not specified SES=middle and upper middle EI=not given	Author-designed, in-depth open-ended interviews	Fluidity and discontinuity are hallmarks of women's lives. Major chasm appeared between earlier socialization and their mature adult roles. Growth came from collegiality, friendships, and relationships with significant others. Caring (for others and self) crosses all spheres of women's lives. A central survival skill is the capacity to pay attention to and respond to changing circumstances and live with ambiguity.
Gilligan (1977, 1982)	N=21; Age 15-33 SES=diverse EI=diverse	Author-designed, semistructured interview	Women's moral judgments proceed through three levels: from focus on self (level one); to the concept of responsibility for self and others with the good equated as caring for others (level two); to the subsuming of both conventions (caring for others as equated with good) and individual needs under the moral principle of nonviolence (level three). Within this process of making moral judgments, two important transitions are made: the movement from selfishness to responsibility and a second from goodness to truth. Demonstrates the centrality of the concepts of responsibility and care in women's construction of the moral domain.

NOTE: SES = socioeconomic class
EI = ethnic identity

TABLE 2–Continued

Author(s)	Subjects	Data Collection Techniques	Selected Salient Results
Hancock (1981, 1985)	N = 20; Age 30-75 SES = diverse, but primarily well educated and middle class EI = not given	Author-designed, semistructured interview	Adulthood for these women was anchored in their choices and need for self-direction in the context of relationships and care. These women tended to have alternate patterns of work and family, but for those who combined both, relationships were the central focus. Life phases for these women were defined by the changes in their social commitments (marriage, children, divorce), rather than by age or occupation.
Hancock (1989)	*N = 20; Age 30-75 SES = diverse, but primarily well educated and middle class EI = not given *Same sample group as for the earlier study (1981, 1985)	Author-designed, semistructured interview	Female identity development is given a circular shape versus a linear pattern and is viewed as organic and dynamic. Women as adults rediscover "the girl within" to retrieve an original sense of self. A blending of values of cooperation, care, and competence is viewed as key to women's development.
McLean (1980)	N = 502; Age 25-50 SES = predominantly middle class EI = not specified	Author-designed questionnaire Bradburn's Overall Happiness Scale Gough's Adjective Checklist	These women portrayed a complex life pattern, with a constant shift in roles throughout their lives. Substantial discontinuity was found in the importance these women attached to various roles, particularly the work and family roles.
Reinke, Holmes, and Harris (1985)	N = 60; Age 35-45 SES = middle class EI = 58 Caucasian 2 minority	Author-designed semistructured interviews focused on social history and inner subjectivity perspective	Women's lives displayed immense diversity in terms of psychosocial changes. Transitions in these women's lives were found to be related to chronological age as well as role-related changes. A major transition in their lives was manifested between the ages of 27 and 30 and was characterized by personal disruption, reassessment, and finally an increased sense of well-being. This transition was not related to family cycle phase.

TABLE 2—Continued

Author(s)	Subjects	Data Collection Techniques	Selected Salient Results
Rubin (1979)	N = 150; Age 34-54 SES = working, middle, upper middle class EI = Caucasian	Author-designed, semistructured interview	These women when describing themselves usually spoke in terms of "being" versus doing. This held true even for those women who worked outside the home. Almost all of these women exhibited a decided sense of relief at the departure of their children, versus seeing that as a difficult transition. Rather, the difficulty stemmed from the fact that they were facing a new beginning in their lives. The idea of the elusive self, the "who am I," was evidenced by many of these women.

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Gilligan used an in-vivo moral dilemma. She interviewed women who were deciding whether to terminate a pregnancy, an area of concern during which women experience both a sense of responsibility and choice. She found that the development of moral judgment for the respondents appeared to proceed from concern for survival, to a focus on goodness, and finally to a principled understanding of nonviolence as a guide to resolutions of moral conflict. The moral imperative that repeatedly emerged was the injunction to care for others. Gilligan, therefore, concluded that women's salient mode of response to moral dilemmas tends to differ from that of men. For women, choices were made in the context of relationships and based on standards of responsibility and caring versus those of rights and justice. Gilligan suggests that "in general, there seems to be a line of development missing from current depictions of adult development, a failure to describe the progression of relationships toward a maturity of interdependence. Though the truth of separation is recognized in most developmental texts, the reality of continuing connection is lost" (p. 155). Gilligan further suggests that men also consider the implications of relationships upon moral decisions, but tend to consider primarily issues of rights and justice. Thus, sensitivity to relationship dimensions appears to be gender related and not gender specific (Gilligan 1982).

Hancock (1981, 1985), in reporting the first analysis of her data, also questioned the emphasis on separateness in definitions of adult maturity. She investigated women's lives through intensive biographical interviews of women who were selected for their self-reflective qualities. Her participants consistently described themselves in terms of relationships with others, rather than with references to themselves by age or occupation. They felt they had "become an adult" as they defined and redefined their connections with others when leaving home, getting married, having children, and so on. Hancock concluded that women redefine "adulthood by anchoring choice and self-direction in the context of relationships and care and not just autonomy and self-determination" (p. 199).

The life patterns and plans of young adult and middle-aged women were compared by McLean (1980). She hypothesized that the goals related to specific life roles, such as work and family roles, would not follow one specific pattern over time, and that the level of intentionality in those patterns would be relatively minimal. McLean found that there was substantial discontinuity in the importance attached to various roles, particularly work and family roles. For example, respondents continued to shift the importance of their employment over the life cycle. She found that though individuals could articulate life goals or dreams, they did not, for the most part, make those dreams a reality. Therefore, she concluded that most women have goals for their lives, but do not act on those goals, and that women "portray a complex life, that is, a life of constant change with new roles merging and old roles receding at numerous points along the path" (McLean 1980, p. 248).

The concept of well-being in women's lives was the focus of the Baruch et al. study (1983). Balance scores, the differences between rewards and concerns, were obtained for domains of life relevant to each subject: work or homemaking, marital status, children or childlessness, and the like. The researchers concluded that well-being for women requires both elements of mastery and pleasure. Mastery is strongly tied to the instrumental or doing side of life, and pleasure to the feeling side of satisfaction and happiness with life. Baruch et al. found that, in general, paid work contributed most to a

high score on mastery, but work alone rarely provided a sense of pleasure. In contrast, homemakers with children tended to report a great deal of pleasure, but mastery was a problem for them. The group scoring the highest on all of the indices of well-being were married women who have children and high-prestige jobs. Thus, the researchers concluded that involvement in multiple roles has a strengthening effect on well-being for women. Therefore, a major concern for women is not that they fulfill multiple roles, but how they are able to manage the roles and resources they have. The researchers also reported that well-being did not correlate with age.

As did Rubin (1979), Reinke et al. (1985) conducted their study with a specific cohort of women, in this instance primarily younger women aged 30-45. Using retrospective interviews, their work focused on psychological changes in their subjects' past. The researchers concluded that women's lives display immense diversity. However, there are commonalities in psychosocial experiences. There appears to be a high incidence of transitions starting between the ages of 27 and 30. The nature of the transition was unique for each woman, however; it appeared to be characterized by a disruption of one's previous sense of self, with the emergence of increased feelings of personal competence and confidence. Although these authors were able to document changes related to chronological age, environmental factors also appeared to be important intervening variables. Therefore, they suggest that age and role (for example, family life cycle) may need to be combined to explain psychosocial changes of adult women.

Hancock (1989), in a later work, revisited her original data (described earlier in this section) to provide some powerful and provocative observations on how women grow, develop, and shape their identities. In reexamining her earlier developed biographies of women (Hancock 1981, 1985), she found that each of her subjects spoke of reclaiming or rediscovering their child within, the person they had been at 8, 9, or 10 years of age. As one subject so aptly put it–

> it [her adult identity] came from the child I had been. . . . And my satisfactions come from the same kinds of things–knowing a lot about subject matters, the way things work, enjoying a lot of people, being well-liked. Doing things well, being active. Being in touch with nature. I really have to say that I was a very wise eight-year-old. (Hancock 1989, p. 16)

Hancock hypothesized that this child gets lost in the shuffle of dividing the world by gender. Little girls become women and as such must give up their world of "doing" in favor of "being"–being a good girl, a good wife, a good mother, a good worker. Therefore, rather than viewing it as linear in form, as in most developmental theories, Hancock gives female development a circular shape and views it as an organic and dynamic process. Within this process, the blending and unifying of the three basic human values of care, cooperation, and competence, without distorting or relegating them into certain facets of life, seems to be key. Hancock's findings blend well with those of Brown and Gilligan (1992), which were described earlier.

Bateson (1989), through the weaving of stories of successful and productive women, provides a "framework for musing about the shape of individual lives, about relationships and commitments, and about gender" (p. x). Her rich descriptions and observations centered on the notions of how fluid and discontinuous the lives of women are. Therefore, two central sur-

vival skills for women become the capacity to pay attention and be able to respond to constantly changing circumstances and living with ambiguity. She highlighted that the most growth for these women came through their relationships with significant others, their friendships, and their ability to be collegial in their work environments. Caring for both oneself and others, which has been a central theme of a number of the inductive studies, was also highlighted by Bateson. She emphasized that this ethic of caring crosses all spheres of a woman's life–from home to work to play.

In summary, although the generalizability of these inductive investigations is very limited because of their research designs and subjects studied, four major themes emerge. The sustaining power of interpersonal relationships and their centrality in the self-concept of women across age cohorts have been reported in studies of the role of relationships, per se, as well as of moral development, identity development, self-perception, and sources of well-being for women. A second theme is the importance of role taking for women, especially how the roles of mother, spouse, partner, and/or worker intertwine, with little clear direction of how they should or do play out over a woman's lifetime, especially for younger cohort groups. Rather, the patterns of development for women are very diverse and filled with role discontinuities and change as the norm versus a pattern of a linear set of expectations and developmental milestones. This lack of a linear developmental pattern determined primarily by chronological age and/or one particular role function is the third major theme that emerged. Finally, tied in with the theme of variability of role taking are the apparent differences between age cohorts of women in terms of major developmental issues and patterns. Except for the theme of relationships, different age cohorts of women (middle aged versus younger women) have experienced very different developmental expectations, with the result being little agreement as to what adult maturity for women is all about.

Summary and Critique of This Literature

"If the shoe fits," we are told, "then wear it." Scholars tend to agree that the more traditional models of development do not and will not fit very well as explanations of the lives of women. Only two key assumptions of those theories seem of relevance to women's development: periods of stability and transition are a part of adult lives and identity and intimacy are issues of prime importance to women, although how these are defined seem to vary from the traditional adult developmental literature. A single linear pattern of psychosocial development appears to be almost the antithesis of what might be termed the "norm" for women. Rather, women's development is characterized by multiple patterns, role discontinuities, and a need to maintain a "fluid" sense of self. The importance of relationships and a sense of connectedness to others appears to be central to the overall developmental process throughout a woman's life-span. Yet, there also appears to be a need for women to capture their own spirit of self, to be given recognition not just for who they are, but for individual abilities and competencies.

Although these conclusions are drawn from both the conceptual and empirical work, these observations are not generalizable to all women and perhaps not even to many women. This lack of generalizability stems both from how the parameters for this review were defined (that is, conceptual papers that focused primarily on women's development and empirical studies with women-only samples)

and the limitations of the empirical studies themselves. Discussed in the remainder of this section are the limitations of studies reviewed, coupled with suggestions for how to expand and enhance the work on psychosocial development of women (for a more complete discussion, see Caffarella and Olson 1993).

Obviously, the respondent base has been limited (primarily to young or middle-aged Caucasian, middle-class females) and needs to be expanded to include different ethnic groups, all socioeconomic classes, and a broader age range (Gordon, Miller, and Rollock 1990; Graham 1992; Hawkesworth 1989; Lerman 1987; Lugones and Spelman 1983; Luttrell 1989; Ross-Gordon 1991). This is especially important as scholars and practitioners have already started to make generalizations about women's development grounded almost exclusively in the experiences of women from predominantly one class and ethnic background.

So, too, have the designs and data collection techniques employed been narrow, the designs being primarily qualitative in nature and the data collection method of choice, in most cases, face-to-face interviewing. Although there is a need to continue this exploratory work using the qualitative paradigm and interviews with varied population samples, there is also a place for using quantitative or mixed approaches, including the further use and development of standardized instruments (Baruch et al. 1983; Picano 1989). In addition, there is also a need to develop studies of women within longitudinal frameworks such as the Josselson (1987) and Helson and Wink (1992) studies described in this review and those reported by Vaillant (1977) on male developmental patterns and the Duke Longitudinal Study (Siegler 1983) on men and women.

Other theoretical perspectives such as feminist theory (Allen and Baber 1992; Hart et al. 1991; Hayes 1992a; Landrine and Klonoff 1992; Nielsen 1990; Weiler 1991), as noted earlier in the review, and critical theory (Collard and Law 1991; Collins and Plumb 1989) could also provide differing views on what constitutes psychosocial development of women. From each of these perspectives, the social context of women's development could be better described and alternative explanations raised about how women grow and develop. For example, the issue of how political power and social order influences the defining of oneself and the world in which one lives is fundamental to both perspectives. How might giving emancipatory power to women affect who they are and how they develop? How would raising the consciousness of women about the "glass ceiling" for women in organizations affect their life dreams and what they believe they can achieve? These issues of power and women's self-development have been explored by a number of scholars (Lugones and Spelman 1983; Welton 1990), but the insights and conclusions from this work, as noted earlier, have not yet been well integrated into the mainstream literature on psychosocial development of women. It appears that an expanded integration of each of these theoretical orientations would be helpful in informing the knowledge base about women's adult development.

Regardless of the research designs, data collection techniques, or theoretical premises employed, in general, more data-based studies are called for in terms of developing the ideas, concepts, models, and theories about women's development. As in previous research, this would include further testing and/or expansion of the more traditional models of development (such as Erikson 1963, 1982; Vaillant 1977) and the newer alternative conceptions of Gilligan (1982), Baruch et

al. (1983), Peck (1986), and Hancock (1989), among others. This means both continuing to conduct studies with women-only respondents as well as widening the base of the theories and models studied.

It would also be useful to examine and test well-formulated theories, models, and themes attributed primarily to women's development using men only as subjects and/or samples that include both men and women. This type of research would allow exploration of whether the major ideas and themes that have emerged from studies on women relate only to women, primarily to women, or can be generalized more broadly to humankind (Bar-Yam 1991; Gilligan 1982; Lyons 1983).

LINKING THIS LITERATURE TO THE PRACTICE OF TEACHING ADULTS

What does this all mean in terms of teaching adults? As noted earlier, adult educators have often grounded a number of their assumptions about how adults learn in developmental literature (for example, Boucouvalas with Krupp 1989; Knowles 1980; Merriam and Caffarella 1991) or have adopted developmental paradigms to explain their research findings about adult learners (such as Aslanian and Brickell 1980; Daloz 1986). Although it appears to be very appropriate to incorporate this developmental material as foundational to the understanding of adult learning, and therefore the teaching of adults, it has often become a shortsighted venture when adult educators choose to ground their premises in the more traditional developmental materials (Erikson 1963, 1982; Levinson et al. 1978, 1986) without giving credence to the differing voices of development–in this case the voices of women. Only recently has the inclusion of developmental paradigms gleaned from research on women been seen as important in framing teaching practice with adult learners (Belenky et al. 1986; Collard and Stalker 1991; Hayes 1989; Lewis 1988; Luttrell 1989). Addressed in this section of the monograph is how the major themes that have emerged from the study of women's development–the centrality of relationships, the diverse and nonlinear patterns of development, and the continuing importance of identity and intimacy–have been or could be linked to the practice of teaching adult women and perhaps to mixed gender groups as well.

Context of the Centrality of Relationships

The linkages between the centrality of relationships in the lives of women and the impact this has and/or should have on the teaching/learning process with adults has received the most attention in the literature. This issue has been addressed by adult educators such as Hayes (1989, 1992b) and Collard and Stalker (1991), as well as by scholars studying cognitive development (Belenky et al. 1986; Tarule 1988) or cognition in relationship to gender, race, and class (Luttrell 1989); and those who align themselves with the feminist tradition (such as Davis, Steiger, and Tennenhouse 1989; Maher 1985; Schniedewind 1983; Shrewsbury 1987). The commonality of thought among these various sources, except for Luttrell (1989), is the importance of collaborative inquiry, cooperative communication styles, and a holistic and democratic approach to learning. Hayes (1989) sees the collaboration in teaching and learning, both between the instructor and the participants and among the participants themselves, as the heart of the process. Belenky et al. (1986) coined the term "connected teaching" to describe this collaborative way of knowing. In connected teaching, groups are created where members nurture each other's learning, where truth is constructed through self-reflection and consensus, and where the processes of thinking (how one comes to know) are as important as the products. Specific ways collaborative teaching can be fostered are as follows: allowing learners to share in the goal-

setting process for the learning activity, giving learners leadership responsibility for carrying through at least some of the learning activities, using interactive instructional techniques, and providing the opportunity for team projects. Examples of specific interactive instructional techniques linked to the acquisition of knowledge, skill building, and change in attitudes, beliefs, and values are given in Table 3.

No matter what the content being taught, in order for collaboration to take place, an environment that encourages and supports a cooperative communication style is critical. This means helping learners to use active listening strategies, improving their questioning abilities, and fostering a pattern where participants "recognize and build on each others' contributions to the topic of discussion" (Hayes 1989, p. 60), whether that be new information, a new skill, or a change in attitude. A climate of mutual respect, trust, honesty, and openness to multiple perspectives is foundational to a cooperative pattern of communication. In addition, the language that one chooses to use is an important variable in stimulating a sense that cooperation is the norm (Collard and Stalker 1991; Tannen 1990, 1991; Treichler and Kramarae 1983). Collard and Stalker (1991), for example, emphasize that the adversarial language of logic (battle, compete, win, lose) "that dominates educational institutions alienates many women learners" (p. 76), and gets in the way of fostering cooperative interactions. Rather, ideas and differing ways of doing things need to be allowed to germinate and grow within a climate of acceptance, "gentle" questioning, and critical examination from a variety of paradigms.

Creating a democratic process for learning is similar to the idea of promoting collaboration. Its hallmark is fostering an interactive participatory style with the dual goals of assisting learners in developing independence of thought, action, and skills as well as creating mutual or shared objectives (Shrewsbury 1987). The democratizing of teaching recognizes that power and authority over the teaching process must be shared in terms of making decisions about the learning experience, as well as fostering of a participatory style of learning. As with collaborative inquiry this can be accomplished through mutual goal setting and planning, interactive methods of teaching, and fostering of a shared evaluation process. Examples of helpful resources for establishing this type of climate and structure for learning include materials by Knowles (1975, 1980) on program planning and learning contracts, Hiemstra and Sisco (1990) on individualizing instruction, Brookfield (1987) on developing critical thinking, and Hiemstra (1991) on creating effective learning environments.

It should be noted that Luttrell (1989), based on her study of working class Black and White women, has a somewhat different view of incorporating the knowledge base about the relational aspect of women's ways of knowing into the teaching and learning process. Although she found that women did define a large part of their ways of knowing within the context of relationships (family, children), she was not able to identify a single predominant mode of knowing for women. For example, even though both White and Black working class women viewed their knowledge primarily as common sense stemming from their experiences and "judged by people's ability to cope with everyday problems in an everyday world" (p. 37), each group described the formation and value of this common sense knowledge somewhat differently. White women valued more the common sense knowledge that working class men possessed, such as manual and craft knowledge, and devalued their own intuitive

TABLE 3
EXAMPLES OF INTERACTIVE INSTRUCTIONAL TECHNIQUES FOR FOSTERING COLLABORATIVE LEARNING

Learning Outcome	Instructional Technique	Example of Use
Knowledge Acquisition	• Small Group Discussion -- Participants (usually four to eight people) have a relatively unstructured exchange of ideas focused on a specific problem, issue, competency, or skill.	Divide the large group into small groups of four to eight people and ask them to discuss what they see as the important components of a specific competency (for example, how to teach someone to read, what constitutes competent supervisors).
	• Panel Discussion with a Screened Speech Component -- A group of three or four people present their views on a particular topic or problem. Small groups of participants then develop questions they wish panel members to respond to in an interactive discussion model.	Have panel members give a 30-45 minute presentation. Each panel member then joins a small group to assist them in developing questions the participants would like the whole panel to respond to as part of the follow-up interactive panel discussion. The whole group reconvenes to take part in the interactive panel discussion.
Skill Building	• Demonstration with Return Demonstration -- An instructor performs a specific skill, showing others how to do a specific task or tasks. The participants in small groups then practice the same task and demonstrate they can do that skill in a correct manner.	An instructor demonstrates how to assist a person who is wheelchair bound to move from a bed to the wheelchair, from a wheelchair to a chair, and from a chair to a wheelchair. Participants are then asked in small groups to help each other learn this skill and be able to demonstrate they can do this skill in a correct and efficient manner.
	• Communication Exercises and Structured Experiences -- Participants take part in planned exercises or experiences, usually using some instrument or guide, focused on fostering communication skills followed by discussion of their observations and learning from those exercises.	Follow a communication exercise described by the author of the experience (for example, Johnson and Johnson 1987; Pheiffer 1991). In debriefing the exercise, focus the discussion both on the communication skill itself and on how this particular communication skill or skills could enhance collaboration in work and/or learning situations.
	• Behavior Modeling -- A model or ideal enactment of a desired behavior is presented via an instructor, a videotape, a computer simulation, or a film. This is followed by skill practice exercises on the behavior that was modeled.	Participants are asked to review individually an interactive computer-assisted learning program on a specific skill area (how to do word processing, how to determine a mechanical problem of an automobile). They are then asked in groups of two or three to assist each other in practicing and mastering this skill.
	• Case Study -- Participants in small groups analyze and offer solutions to simulated real-world situations/problems.	Develop or use an already prepared written description of a problem related to the topic being discussed (how to teach adults, a community action agenda, leadership issues) along with key questions/areas to be addressed. Have small groups offer solutions and recommendations, and report those solutions and actions to the whole group for further discussion.

TABLE 3–Continued

Learning Outcome	Instructional Technique	Example of Use
Attitudes, Belief Systems, and Values Change	• Role-playing -- Participants dramatize a situation or problem followed by a group discussion.	Develop or use an already prepared scenario with short written descriptions of the roles to be played focused on the topic for the learning activity (conflict management, life skills, communication skills). After the role play, have both the participants and the observers discuss what they have seen and how they felt about the role play.
	• Storytelling -- Participants "tell their stories" about an experience area that all or most of the group has in common.	Use storytelling at the beginning of a learning activity by having groups of two or three discuss common experiences (being a new student, parenting, major life transition) and/or have each person in the session tell his/her story to the whole group.
	• Metaphor Analysis -- Participants construct metaphors that are concrete images which describe a phenomenon being discussed in a parallel, yet more personally meaningful way.	Ask learners to write down their metaphors related to the topic being addressed (metaphors for family, work groups, organizations in which they work). Have learners share these metaphors through either small or large group discussion.

common sense knowing that sprang from their domestic responsibilities. In contrast, Black women did view as important the knowledge they gained through caretaking and domestic work. In addition, working class Black women also viewed their racial identity and relationships with "extended kin" and the Black community as critical to both their ways of knowing and their knowledge base.

Despite these differences between White and Black women, Luttrell stresses that because these working class women organize their knowledge primarily through their networks of social relationships, their power in their worlds is diminished, especially in their work lives and within the dominant culture of their communities (that is, White male, middle/upper class). Therefore, in the teaching/learning process, Luttrell views the task of educators as helping women to examine the similarities and differences in how the conditions of their lives and the ideological nature of knowledge they seek renders their "work, knowledge, and power [as] invisible" (p. 44). In giving this recommendation, actual strategies for enacting this process were not discussed.

Context of Diverse Patterns of Development

Accepting the premise that developmental patterns for women are diverse and do not follow any step-wise progression or order, the second major theme requires adult educators to be familiar with a variety of theories of development and not to assume that one or more of these theories should predominate. For many adult educators, this implies a need to rethink the idea of age-related developmental tasks, such as those outlined by Levinson (1978, 1986) or Havighurst (1972), as the primary means of framing a way of thinking about women as learners. For example, some women have firm occupational dreams as young adults, whereas others develop major career aspirations at midlife or beyond, and still others choose to invest their life dreams in home and family life. Who is to say which pattern is right or more correct just because it fits or does not fit into a preconceived theory about how people should be developing as adults? Daloz (1986) and Merriam and Caffarella (1991), for example, have written about and encouraged this thinking about adults as learners. More specifically, Daloz reviews three quite distinct developmental theories (Levinson, Kegan, and Perry) as differing road maps for adult development, whereas Merriam and Caffarella suggest framing thinking from three major perspectives: physical aging, psychological changes, and sociocultural factors.

As well as acceptance of the ideas that women live out diverse patterns of life, two critical ideas emerge from this same line of research that have implications for teaching adult learners: Baruch et al.'s (1983) concepts of mastery and pleasure and Hancock's (1989) notion of rediscovering the girl within. The former asks educators to recognize that whatever pattern a woman chooses for her life, educators should continue to nurture both her instrumental or doing side (mastery) as well as what gives her a sense of satisfaction or happiness, the feeling side of life (pleasure). This means that adult educators need to incorporate into their teaching not only ways to tap and enhance the knowledge and skills of participants, but also allow the freeing of the feeling side to be a part of the learning activities (Spendiff 1992). Outlined in Table 4 are descriptions of teaching techniques that allow this expression of feeling. For some adult educators, facilitating the expression of emotion will be a very difficult process. One way for this type of more holistic teaching to be encouraged is team teach-

TABLE 4
TEACHING TECHNIQUES THAT ALLOW LEARNERS' FEELINGS TO BE A PART OF THE LEARNING ACTIVITY

Technique	Description
Reflective Journal Writing	Participants keep journals in which they record specific events, ideas, thoughts, and the like; how they feel about these events; and/or how they might act/feel differently in the future.
Self-Disclosure	Participants and the instructor share personal life situations to illustrate the content being taught and/or describe the process of instruction.
Peer Support Groups for Both Inside and Outside of Learning Event	Groups of three or four participants agree to support each other both emotionally and in a content-related way as they move through a learning experience.
Role-playing	Participants spontaneously dramatize a situation or problem followed by a group discussion focused on both the events of the role play and the feelings the role play evoked.
Use of Literature and Poetry	Participants discuss books, short stories, poetry and the like that has meaning to them related to the content being studied.
Group Processing of "Feeling" Side of Learning Experience	Teacher/facilitator asks participants to discuss how they feel about the content being discussed and/or a learning activity they just experienced.
Critical Incident Technique	Participants describe an incident/event that has affected them emotionally, which is then used as a basis for discussion.
Storytelling	Participants are asked to tell stories that relate how they feel about a particular event or experience.
Exercises and Structured Experiences	Participants take part in planned exercises or experiences, usually using some instrument or guide, that focus on how they feel about a given idea, subject, and/or interaction.

SOURCE: Brookfield (1987); Caffarella (1988); Davis, Steiger, and Tennenhouse (1989); and Mezirow and Associates (1990)

ing, with one of the two instructors being very adept at processing the feelings of learners in relationship to the content or task at hand.

Hancock's premise of "recapturing the child within" and similar themes echoed by Brown and Gilligan (1992) also have implications for how educators approach adults as learners. Rather than just focusing on learners' present or future plans, as educators often do, they may need to assist them in rediscovering an earlier self. This means throwing out the mind set that many women have never really grown up, or in psychological language, have become fixated at one stage or another. Rather, some or perhaps many women may have had clearer self-definitions in their childhood years than after having accepted a life of gender-related norm expectations that have never really fit them. For example, imagine that, rather than the usual introduction done in classes and workshops of name, rank, and what do you want to be when you grow up, adult learners were asked to tell the group about who they were as a 9-, 10-, or 11-year-old. For example, learners might describe what they liked, what they did, and how they thought at age 10, and then be asked to discuss what this means to them as individuals and as learners today. It is a different way of looking at the past, not as negative or regressive in nature, but as a positive circling back to what might be a learner's truer nature.

Within these many life patterns for women, the idea of periods of stability and transition still seems to be central, no matter what pattern of development women follow. Therefore, being aware that learners may be in a major transition and that this transition may provide a major motivator for their learning, whether it is the event itself they wish to know more about or that the event provided for them a need to learn (Aslanian and Brickell 1980; Schlossberg 1984; Schlossberg, Lynch, and Chickering 1989), is key to working with adult learners. Using this knowledge about transitions means both assisting individual learners in working through their transitional experiences as a legitimate part of the learning activity as well as fostering, where applicable, group interaction around how transition periods have affected or are presently affecting their learning. For example, a divorce or death of a close family member may often trigger a need for learning. For some, this might mean a need for reflection about basic values and beliefs, for others learning a new skill or job, and for still others practical information on how to deal with elements of the transition. It is also important to recognize that major transitions may also cause blocks to learning, and this may mean giving the learner "space" to process those transitions outside of whatever learning event they are involved with at the time. Again, it is critical for people not to label these transitional periods as tied to a particular developmental framework, such as the "age 30 transition" or the "midlife crisis." This type of labeling process boxes people into one developmental pattern that may or may not fit their life pattern.

Context of Identity and Intimacy

Similar to the notions of mastery and pleasure proposed by Baruch et al. (1983), the time-honored concepts of identity and intimacy as defined by Erikson (1963, 1982) and others are as critical to women as they are to men. But, unlike some developmental schemes that place them on a time continuum (most often during the adolescent and young adulthood phase), these issues, as noted earlier, appear salient to women throughout their lives (Merriam and Clark 1991a).

These issues of identity and intimacy have not been addressed as extensively in the literature as those of relationships and diverse developmental patterns in terms of the teaching process with women. One notion related to these issues that has been explored by a number of authors is the importance of both instructors and learners finding and using what has been termed the "authentic self" in the teaching/learning process (Belenky et al. 1986; Gallos 1992; Maher 1985; Tarule 1988; Weiler 1991). Realizing and sharing one's identity in terms of this authentic self allows women to value who they are and gives them a sense of competence and efficacy. This development of a sense of self is often expressed as developing or perhaps hearing one's own "voice" (Belenky et al. 1986; Gilligan 1982), which in turn gives a person the ability to recognize the voices of others. The emphasis in this process of listening to oneself and others is the acceptance of multiple ways of being and knowing and the acknowledgement that changing and differing identities are valid and central to most learning activities.

By demonstrating the willingness to share who they are with learners, instructors can both serve as role models for women and challenge them as learners to become active self-inquirers. This incorporates helping learners to trust themselves and their experiences as legitimate sources of knowledge (Belenky et al. 1986; Hart 1990). For example, some women still have a difficult time acknowledging that they are bright, highly skilled, and capable people. What might be helpful for learners to hear is how the instructor came to believe herself to be an intelligent and competent worker, and how perhaps at times, especially when confronted with new areas of knowledge or life experiences, she still may feel unsure of herself in the learning process.

As discussed earlier, crises of identity and intimacy, such as the loss of a job or divorce, create transitions in women's lives that motivate them to participate in learning activities. These transition times can serve as profound times of learning for women, especially in terms of exploring who they are and where they want to go with their lives (Merriam and Clark 1991a). An early example of learning opportunities that addressed these transitional times in women's lives are the programs that colleges and universities developed specifically for women (Rice 1975, 1983; Tittle and Denker 1977). Instituted primarily during the 1960s and 1970s, these "continuing education programs for women" focused on assisting women "caught in the throes of social change and personal transition" (Rice 1983, p. 8). These types of programs provided opportunities for women who wished to reenter postsecondary education for the purposes of completing courses for a degree or general interest, and/or pursuing employment opportunities or career advancement.

Looking more at learning activities, in general, these transitional issues of "who am I," "what do I want to do with my life," and "with whom do I want to do it" could be included, where appropriate, as a fundamental part of learning programs (Gallos 1992). For example, in longer-term learning situations (such as formal courses or intensive weekend sessions), as illustrated in Table 5, part of the opening session and designated times throughout the learning experience could be devoted to questions like those posed here.

Participants could explore individually and with each other reasons that drew them into the learning activity and/or how learning the content has helped or could help them in their struggles with defining who they are or want to be. Part of the wrap-up time could also address these

TABLE 5
SAMPLE TEACHING TECHNIQUES FOR ADDRESSING ISSUES OF IDENTITY AND INTIMACY

Timing	Technique	Description
Opening the Learning Experience	Dyads/Triads	Participants in groups of two or three share who they are, why they chose this particular learning experience, and how they believe this learning experience might change who they are and/or what they do.
	Storytelling	Participants are asked to tell a story that illustrates who they are. These stories may be of past events, present happenings, and/or how they envision their futures.
During the Learning Experience	Reflective Journal Writing	Participants keep journals in which they reflect on how being involved with this learning activity (for example, content, interactions between and among participants and staff) have affected how they think about themselves and their relationships with other people.
	Self-Disclosure	Participants are asked periodically throughout the class to reflect individually and/or in small groups on how the learning experience has affected how they feel about themselves, their skills and competencies, their work, and other aspects of their lives as appropriate.
Closing the Learning Experience	Reflective Group Discussion	Participants share with each other how this learning experience has changed how they feel about themselves, their skills and competencies, their work, and the like. They are asked to choose whatever medium they would like to do this (such as visual, literature, poetry, storytelling, personal reflection, demonstration).

issues. Learners could be asked to describe any changes they have experienced in how they see themselves and their world over the course of the learning experience and what precipitated these changes (such as conversations with other learners, time to reflect, learning of new knowledge, skills, and/or attitudes). Instructors, as well as learners who are not coping with issues of identity or intimacy, could serve as resources for information and provide emotional support as learners wrestle with these critical issues of a sense of self and what kind of relationships are important to them.

LINKING THIS LITERATURE TO THE PRACTICE OF LEADERSHIP

A second challenge for adult educators is to link the literature on the psychosocial development of women to the practice of how women act as leaders in the adult education enterprise. The predominant paradigm of leadership, as with learning and teaching in adulthood, is that women's leadership styles and actions are grounded in male models (Astin and Leland 1991; Betz and O'Connell 1987; Helgesen 1990; Shakeshaft 1989) and women are assessed against these ideas of leadership to see "how they measure up" in terms of both leadership potential and actual practice. Until recently, voices of women leaders as well as women learners were not heard, nor has the literature on women's development been viewed as salient when describing foundations of leadership practice (Billing and Alvesson 1989; Blackmore 1989; Helgesen 1990; Shakeshaft 1989). Following the same format as the previous section, explored in this part of the monograph is how the major themes of the centrality of relationships, the diverse and nonlinear patterns of development and the continuing importance of identity and intimacy in women's development have been or could be connected to the practice of women serving as leaders in adult education organizations.

Context of the Centrality of Relationships

As with the teaching process with women, the linkages between the literature on the centrality of relationships in the lives of women and the practice of leadership have received the most attention from scholars and practitioners alike. These linkages have been addressed primarily by authors writing from the perspective of administrators in public schools and institutions of higher education (Astin and Leland 1991; Blackmore 1989; Haring-Hidore et al. 1990; Regan 1990; Sagaria and Johnsrud 1988; Shakeshaft 1989); other service industries such as health care and social agencies (Astin and Leland 1991; Muller and Cocotas 1988; Schwartz, Gottesman, and Perlmutter 1988); and the general field of management (Billing and Alvesson 1989; Eagly and Johnson 1990; Gips 1989; Helgesen 1990). The commonality of thought that appears throughout this work is that women leaders, in both the public and private sectors, see as critically important being involved with the people with whom they work--"on keeping relationships in [and for some external to] the organization in good repair" (Helgesen 1990, p. 21). This theme of the centrality of relationships to women's roles as leaders is seen in the values these women espouse, their leadership styles, and in the action strategies they describe.

Most women seem to place a premium on articulated values as fundamental to their work. Although different authors use varying terminology to describe these basic values, strong threads are seen among these writers related to the developmental theme of relationships, with particular emphasis given to the values of caring, responsibility to others, empower-

ment, interdependence, collaboration, and collegiality (Astin and Leland 1991; Billing and Alvesson, 1989; Blackmore 1989; Helgesen 1990). One way for leaders to implement these and other basic values in an organization is to formulate belief statements, as shown in Table 6, that reflect the agreed-upon values of the people throughout the organization and/or within a particular unit in that organization.

These belief statements can then serve as the lens through which the daily business of the organization is carried out. For example, in formulating a graduate program in leadership development, the course content, teaching methods, and requirements should reflect the belief statements for the particular department and college in which it is housed. These belief statements should also be reflected in the values and behaviors of the faculty and students and be demonstrated in the way the program is administered (in admissions procedures, advisement, and exit requirements) and in how faculty and students work between and among themselves (Barnett et al. 1992).

These values are carried through in the style of leadership many women tend to adopt. The predominant words that describe this style are participatory management with collective action as the goal (Astin and Leland 1991; Iannello 1992; Muller and Cocotas 1988; Shakeshaft 1989). This means high involvement by the leader with her various constituent groups, from internal staff to recipients of services and/or goods to the general public. Carrying through this style of high involvement has "the theme of [fostering] connections between people, between people and ideas, and between people and policy" (Blackmore 1989, p. 26) and building a sense of community (Shakeshaft 1989). In order for these types of connections and a sense of community to form, dialogue and open information sharing must be encouraged by the leader at all levels in the organization and, as needed, with outside parties.

TABLE 6
EXAMPLES OF ORGANIZATIONAL BELIEF STATEMENTS

Value	Belief Statement
Caring	Being caring people drives our leadership behavior.
Responsibility to Others	Being responsible to others forms the basis for our work.
Empowerment	Empowering others to think and act is primary to our decision making and actions.
Interdependency	Fostering interdependence, the ability to work with and through others, forms the cornerstone of our interactions.
Collegiality/Collaboration	Acting in a collegial and collaborative manner is fundamental to the functioning of our organization.

Helgesen (1990) used the metaphor of "the voice," of hearing self and others, as characteristic of women leaders, versus that of visioning, to allow this openness of communication channels. She views the metaphor of vision as reflecting "traditional Western notions of science in a way that is distinctly male" (p. 222). The assumption underlying her observations on visioning is that in the visioning process leaders view their organizations in primarily objective and detached ways–they "'step-back' to view reality 'with a clear eye,' . . . record truth impassively, 'like a camera'" (ibid.) and then move their organizations toward that truth. In contrast, using the work of Gilligan (1982) and Belenky et al. (1986) as foundational to her thinking, Helgesen emphasizes that women leaders primarily base their work on what is being said around them–on hearing and listening to the voices that surround them. According to Helgesen, the ear, unlike the eye,

> operates by registering subtle changes. Unlike seeing, which is a one-way process, speaking and listening suggest dialogue and interaction. A vision may exist alone . . . , but a voice cannot be a voice unless someone is there to hear it; it finds its form in the process of interaction. Thus voice may be defined not just as a vocal instrument, but as a mode of communicating information and, more subtly, sensibility. (p. 223)

Therefore, women perceive organizational dynamics and practices in a more contextual manner, with their origins and day-to-day operations affected by and emerging from human as well as structural circumstances.

A number of leadership and management strategies have been suggested for implementing a style of participatory management that allows for open information sharing and the building of community. Examples of these strategies are shown in Table 7. Each of these strategies seems to lead to a community of workers who support each other while at the same time working to achieve the goals and tasks required by the organization.

Context of Diverse Patterns of Development

Accepting that developmental patterns for women, including career development, are diverse and nonlinear, the second major theme has been addressed in two very distinct ways in the literature on women and leadership: (1) career entry and patterns of career development and (2) ways that women manage. In relationship to career entry and movement as leaders, as illustrated by the literature on women administrators in public schools (Shakeshaft 1989), many women, especially those with families, enter positions of leadership much later than men and often have credentials that demonstrate what have been called "interruptions" or "blank" periods in terms of full-time professional employment. Often these "missing years" of employment history are due to leaves taken from the paid work force to raise children, and/or increasingly time away to care for aging parents. Even women who have remained employed full time may show "erratic" patterns of jobs held, both in terms of types of positions and length of time in service, often connected again to family responsibilities or moves required by a spouse's or partner's job (Baker and Bootcheck 1985; Morrison 1992; Rice 1975, 1983). In other words, there is not a nice, neat progression from one level in the organization to another in terms of what is thought of as "normal" career development (for example, from trainer to director of training to vice president of human

TABLE 7
EXAMPLES OF STRATEGIES USED IN PARTICIPATORY LEADERSHIP

Strategy	Description	Operational Guidelines
Building Formal Communication Systems	Communication systems (written, verbal, computerized) reflect a "weaving pattern" in more traditional hierarchical organizations across horizontal and vertical lines as well as linkages at different angles across these two organizational planes. In flatter, less layered organizations, the communication networks may be more circular in nature with interconnecting lines between and among the various circles.	• The value of an open communication system and the sharing of information are clearly articulated. • People at all levels of the organization are shown how to assess and use effectively each of the communication systems in operation. • Communication systems are evaluated on a regular basis and modified as needed depending on the changing dynamics of the organization.
Using Formally Constituted and Ad Hoc Committee Structures and Work Teams	Groups of people within and, as appropriate, external to the organization are asked to serve on institutionally constituted committees (such as budget and finance, organizational planning) or ad hoc committees/work teams focused on a specific problem, issue, or task.	• Committee/work team members understand clearly what they are to do and what authority they have. • Committee/team members work on solutions to existing problems/ issues/tasks and are not asked merely to rubber-stamp already worked-out solutions/strategies. • Individual and group responsibilities accepted by committee members are clear, specific, and definitive with the expectation that these tasks will be carried out in a timely and effective manner.
Fostering Collaborative Work Projects	Collaborative work projects involve two or more people working together to address a particular task or problem. Each team member accepts the responsibility for speaking and acting in a collective voice as the end result of the project. Team members may have similar or highly differentiated backgrounds and experiences.	• Team members all come to agreement in the initial stages of the project on the purpose of the project and how they will work individually and together as a team. • Frequent interaction between/among the team members is necessary. • Resources and control over the project is shared between/among team members.
Providing a System of Job Rotation	In job rotation, staff take on all or part of another staff member's responsibilities that are different from their present position. This allows staff members to learn a new job and, therefore, enlarge their view of the work of the organization as well as providing for individual development.	• Persons involved in job rotation clearly understand the parameters and the responsibilities of the new job and which, if any, of their current job responsibilities they will be expected to continue. • Staff are not expected to carry out the responsibilities of two people in the guise of "job rotation."

SOURCE: Astin and Leland (1991); Caffarella (1988); Daresh and Playko (1989, 1992); Hall and Sandler (1983); Helgesen (1990); Iannello (1992); Larson and La Fasto (1989); Moore and Amey (1988); Morrison (1992); Schwartz, Gottesman, and Perlmutter (1988)

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TABLE 7–Continued

Strategy	Description	Operational Guidelines
Encouraging Mentoring at All Levels of the Organization	Mentoring involves an intense caring relationship in which a person with more experience works with a less experienced person to promote both professional and personal development. Although the focus is on the development of the mentee or protege, the mentor also may experience personal growth and a different sense of self as a result of the mentoring experience.	• Mentoring occurs informally (people find each other) and in a more formally programmed fashion (organizationally established mentoring programs). • Mentors are proactive in the learning process (arranging meetings, sharing information, providing introductions). • Mentors provide encouragement, support, challenging opportunities, and validation, and assist in self-understanding on the part of the protege.
Encouraging Information Sharing as a Part of the Regular Work Day	Physical facilities are designed and operating norms are defined to facilitate both formal and informal interactions and information sharing between and among staff.	• The value of information sharing is clearly articulated. • The enhancement of interpersonal communication skills is a part of ongoing training provided by the organization. • Offices, meeting rooms, lounges, and other physical facilities are designed to encourage individual and group interactions.
Surrounding Oneself with Talented People	Staff selected are people who are truly talented and possess differing perspectives, knowledge bases, and skills.	• The value of diversity and differing perspectives and talents is clearly articulated. • The personnel system allows an applicant for a position (whether internal or external) to demonstrate abilities and voice beliefs and values. • Colleagues and supervisors acknowledge a job well done.
Creating a Nonhierarchical Organizational Structure	Consensual decision making is the hallmark of a nonhierarchical organizational structure. The control of the organization lies with its members, employees, and the owners.	• The authority for decision making is in the collective body of the organization and is based on ability or expertise rather than formal rank. • Critical decisions are reserved for all parties (employees, owners, members), and routine decisions are delegated horizontally. • People in the organization value and are committed to decision making by consensus.

resources). As noted earlier, what the adult developmental literature stresses is that for some, if not most women (except possibly the most recent cohort of women in their 20s and early 30s), what is thought of as the norm for career patterns related to leadership positions just does not fit how women live their lives.

What do these differing career patterns mean for those seeking to fill leadership positions in adult education and for women who aspire to fill those positions? For those responsible for hiring leaders, it may mean changing application requirements and position responsibilities so they can attract more women to these positions (Morrison 1992). For example, job requirements might reflect more skill or ability levels rather than how potential applicants acquired those skills or abilities, especially in terms of paid employment in specific kinds of positions. Competencies developed as a result of family responsibilities, volunteer work, or paid positions that might be considered irrelevant to the job are often as valuable as those acquired through the more accepted career routes, yet often are not seen as credible or important. The same goes for formal degree requirements versus what women have learned on their own through reading, being involved with community work, childrearing, and other life experiences.

Position responsibilities may also need to be altered to provide more flexibility in scheduling, opportunities for more part-time positions, and/or allowances for providing chances for women to alter the way they work and with whom. Providing women the opportunity to integrate leadership roles with other parts of their lives means for many organizations major changes in the way they do business and in their personnel policies. These changes may not be seen as feasible or even welcomed as they deviate from how many think leadership roles ought to be framed and carried out. Yet, by not making these changes, organizations that work with adult learners are missing out on the special talents and competencies that women have demonstrated they can bring as educational leaders (Astin and Leland 1991; Helgesen 1990; Morrison 1992; Shakeshaft 1989). Women presently in leadership positions have a special responsibility for fostering organizational change to accommodate these diverse developmental patterns of women (Astin and Leland 1991).

For women aspiring to leadership positions, networking with current and aspiring leaders and establishing mentoring relationships have been shown to be helpful strategies, both for women seeking entry-level positions as well as those wishing to take on greater leadership responsibilities (Astin and Leland 1991; Fleming 1991; Gallos 1992; Hall and Sandler 1983; Johnson 1991; Moore and Amey 1988; Morrison 1992). Networking involves forming relationships with other women and men who currently hold or aspire to leadership positions for the purposes of giving and receiving information, providing mutual support, and advancing in a career (Johnson 1991). Networks may be informal in nature, such as meeting for Friday afternoon "happy hours," or be formally constituted, like those developed by employers and professional associations (for example, Women's Issues, Status and Education Program Unit of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education).

Mentoring, as described in Table 7, involves an intense caring relationship in which persons with more experience work with less experienced persons to promote both professional and personal development (Busch 1985; Daresh and Playko 1989, 1992; Gallos 1992; Moore and Amey 1988). Persons may have only one primary mentor or multiple mentors, "each

of whom performs one or several mentoring functions" (Hall and Sandler 1983, p. 5). As with networking, mentoring can occur informally (people find each other) or as part of a formal mentoring program. Mentors serve as guides, role models, patrons, and teachers for their proteges. The purpose of these relationships, which often lead to lifelong valued colleagues and friends, is to assist proteges in developing and/or refining skills, knowledge, beliefs and values and to help them reflect on and examine their more personal sense of self (integrating personal and professional lives, gaining self-confidence) (Daresh and Playko 1992; Hall and Sandler 1983; Mokros, Erkut, and Sprichiger 1981). Although the benefits of the mentoring process are most often stressed for the proteges, the mentors also often observe they gain as much as the person being mentored.

"Generally, the research on mentoring with respect to women . . . suggests that it is a positive experience, enabling proteges to go farther and faster, and often with greater effectiveness than those without mentors" (Moore and Amey 1988, p. 45). Yet, it has also been shown that women are less likely than their male counterparts to seek out a mentor and actively promote themselves; women in leadership positions are also less likely to initiate mentoring relationships and often wait to be approached by aspiring or novice leaders (Busch 1985; Hall and Sandler 1983; Mokros, Erkut, and Sprichiger 1981). Therefore, one of the major challenges for both aspiring or novice women leaders and the women leaders themselves is for *both to become more proactive* in the process of seeking out and establishing mentoring relationships with other women.

A second major challenge for women who want to establish a mentoring relationship, especially with a woman leader, is finding a mentor who has both the time and expertise to provide the guidance and personal relationship that is desired (Moore and Amey 1988). Women who hold current leadership positions have a special responsibility to help other women who either aspire to or are in leadership roles. This added responsibility does place an extra task on women leaders, especially in organizations where they are few in number, yet organizations must find ways to support this type of development for women. This commitment by organizations to programs that stress "women mentoring women" is especially critical for women entering nontraditional jobs and careers (such as top-level leadership positions), women of differing ethnic backgrounds, and/or women who are disabled (Hall and Sandler 1983).

As discussed in the section on centrality of relationships, it is also productive to link women's developmental issues to the understanding of women's styles of leadership. Although little work has been done linking specific developmental patterns of women to ways women lead, two studies, one from the developmental literature (Hancock 1989) and one from the literature on women and leadership (Helgesen 1990), use the same language to describe women's development and leadership style. As noted earlier, Hancock gives women's development a circular shape and views development for women as an organic and dynamic process. Helgesen also conceives of women's leadership style as circular versus hierarchical in form. As described in the words of one of her subjects–

> The new system is circular . . . ; positions are represented as circles, which are then arranged in an expanding series of orbits.
>
> I use circles . . . because symbolically they are important. The circle is an organic image . . . is inclusive, but it

> allows for flow and movement; the circle doesn't box you in. I've always conceived of management as a circular process. (p. 44)

In extending this image further, Helgesen uses the metaphor of a spider's web, with the leader in the middle and therefore connected to all of its many interwoven parts. Implicit in this image of the web are the ideas of the importance of affiliation, inclusion, and group versus individual achievement, concepts that appear both in the literature on women's development, and women and leadership.

Context of Identity and Intimacy

The importance of the concepts of identity and intimacy, the third major theme identified as critical to women's development, has also been addressed in the literature on women and leadership (Astin and Leland 1991; Gallos 1992; Helgesen 1990; Regan 1990), although not in great depth. In exploring the concept of identity, the ideas of the importance of self-awareness, of finding the authority of self, and the development of one's voice as a leader seem to be key. Being self-aware means having a sense of who one is as a leader–being able to identify characteristics that others would recognize. For example, in one study of women leaders involved in social change (Astin and Leland 1991), women used words such as having vitality, energetic, intelligent, courageous, confident, and flexible to describe themselves.

Finding the authority of self (Weiler 1991), as discussed earlier, allows women leaders to then help others seek their own sense of self. The idea of finding self-authority is similar to the notion of being self-aware, but is coupled with the idea that the leader will then share who she is (her struggles and triumphs as a leader) as a way to foster leadership development in others.

The third major idea, that of developing one's voice (Belenky et al. 1986; Helgesen 1990), comes with self-awareness and a sense of self-authority. Being aware of oneself and one's internal authority allows a women's own voice to be heard as distinct from other leaders, whether they be male or female. For some females who work in a primarily male environment, being heard may be especially difficult as their voice–their way of leading–may be very different from their colleagues.

Allowing one's own voice as a leader to be both spoken and heard is not an easy task for many women, no matter what the context. Women have been taught well through more traditional academic training and experience what leaders need to be like–goal oriented, driven, builders and carriers of the vision, career and job committed above all else. Part of women's self-identity, such as being energetic, task oriented, intelligent, and confident, fits well with the more traditional paradigms of leadership. What does not match, especially for women who aspire to top leadership positions, is the more nurturing and relational sense of self that many women possess. Five sources are especially useful in helping women understand the blending of qualities in defining their sense of self and then translating them into positive and perhaps even advantageous leadership attributes:

- *Women in Educational Administration* (Shakeshaft 1989)
- *The Female Advantage* (Helgesen 1990)
- "Not for Women Only: School Administration as a Feminist Activity" (Regan 1990)
- *Women of Influence, Women of Vision* (Astin and Leland 1991)

- *Decisions without Hierarchy* (Iannello 1992)

The images of the web (Helgesen 1990), as described earlier, and the double helix versus the broken pyramid (Regan 1990) are especially powerful metaphors and guides for women in conceptualizing who they are as leaders.

The concept of intimacy, forming and maintaining close relationships with significant others (spouse, children, friends), is obviously an important part of women's lives. For women in leadership positions, it becomes an even more important aspect to consider as for most women "the line separating the public world from the private" (Shakeshaft 1989, p. 198) tends to be blurred. For most women, the job is only one element of their lives. Women usually also make time for activities not directly related to their work–time for their family and friends, time for hobbies and recreational activities, and time to broaden their understanding of the world. Even while at work, as Helgesen (1990) has demonstrated, women carry with them a "mental involvement with their families during the workday. They call home, talk to children, housekeepers, and caretakers, occasionally they even note chores related to family on their office calendars" (p. 33). For some women, this mental presence must also translate into a physical presence: when children are sick, have to be transported, or need a parent to watch a ball game or school play.

This integration of women's public and private worlds is often pictured as a disadvantage to women aspiring to or currently holding leadership positions (Edson 1981; Shakeshaft 1989). Because of their multifaceted identities and roles, women are seen as not being able to handle the time commitments demanded by certain leadership positions, overwhelmed at trying to meet conflicting demands of both work and family responsibilities, and limited in their ability to climb the leadership ladder by being placebound. The natural inclination of most women to blend work and other facets of their lives has been seen primarily in a negative light and, in fact, has created many disadvantages for women leaders in terms of present work environments and norms. In recent years, this same phenomenon of women's multifaceted lives has been viewed as being advantageous both for women leaders and organizations (Astin and Leland 1991; Helgesen 1990; Regan 1990; Shakeshaft 1989). Helgesen (1990) provided one of the best descriptions of how the integration of identity and intimacy issues for women has given advantages to women leaders. Examples of her observations follow:

- Being less identified with their careers permits women a measure of detachment and allows them to keep the work world in perspective with the rest of life's joys and sorrows, both on a personal and more global scale.

- In viewing the "big picture" in organizations, women encompass a vision of society–they relate their decisions in their organizations to their effect upon the role of the family, the U.S. educational system, the environment, and even world peace.

- Balancing and managing conflicting demands on their time and energy is something most women do well.

- Allowing something new to fit into their full schedules is not something women have to learn. They already know that interrupted schedules are a normal part of their active lives.

- Being able to adapt to various roles is a definite asset for women in handing

the diverse responsibilities of leadership and management.

- By using, instead of camouflaging, their personal values, women have unique opportunities for transforming the workplace.

The challenge remains for more women leaders in adult education to seize the advantages they have as women and make them work in their leadership roles. For some, if not most institutions, there is a need to heed the call to change their values, operating norms, and day-to-day practices so that women's ways of leading can become a significant part of the leadership dynamics of educational systems.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The purpose of this monograph has been to provide an in-depth discussion of the literature on the psychosocial development of women and to suggest how this knowledge is linked to the practice of teaching and leadership in adult education. Three major themes of development that best capture the voices of women include the importance of relationships as central to the overall developmental process, diverse and nonlinear patterns of development as the norm for women, and intimacy and identity as issues of continuing importance to women throughout their lives. The challenge for educators of adults is to incorporate these ideas into their practice with adult learners and staff, although this challenge is tempered with the observation that these major themes may not be applicable to all women and perhaps not even many women due to the lack of subject diversity and the limited research designs that have been employed to study women's development.

Some women who read this monograph may say that they really do not fit the themes or the practice ideas presented; that they really live out their lives and practice successfully as adult educators much differently. There will also be men who observe that the themes of development presented in this monograph and the practice suggestions seem to match who they are and how they work or would like to work with adults, and yet obviously they are not women. These additional voices of difference verify the complexity and variation of adult lives for both women and men. Therefore, these differing ideas about adult growth must be heard and added to the already growing reservoir of knowledge about adult development.

Yet, the strong voices of the women who have spoken and/or been allowed to speak over the last 20 years and the consistent themes they raise about their lives and about their work can not be denied. Relationships are important to these women, as well as continually addressing both issues of identity and intimacy throughout their lives, which leads naturally to a portrayal of women's lives as complex and diverse. This portrait is disturbing for many as it forces people to be more accepting of diversity in life and takes away the "nice neat picture" (often displayed in lock-step diagrams of stages or phases of adult life) that prescribes who adults ought be, how they should grow and develop, and what their ultimate goal in life should be. An acceptance of these voices also leads to a way of being and acting in the work world that is different from the predominant values and norms of most organizations. It truly allows for the ethic of caring as well as justice to be of prime importance; of feelings to be given the same value as objective data; of interdependence of thought and action to be viewed as critical as acting autonomously and independently; and for collaborative and cooperative ways of working to be as sought after and used as often as those of individual direction and action.

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